



CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Edited by
Elfatih A. Abdelsalam
Garoot S. Eissa



IIUM Press

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We, however, take full responsibility for the views put forth and for any error that may occur in this book.

Editors

Introduction

This book is a collaborative effort by the academic staff of the department of Political Science, the International Islamic University Malaysia. The objective is to boost research and publications by our colleagues.

As editors we requested our colleagues at the Department of Political Science to contribute chapters to the book.

The response was encouraging. By August 2010 we were able to gather eight chapters. One major limitation of the book is the absence of a central theme that links all its chapters. However, we strove to make sure that the chapters cover all four sub-areas of political science, namely: International Relations, Comparative Politics, Public Administration, and Political Theory. Hopefully, this book will inspire our departmental colleagues to publish similar works in the near future.

In terms of its structure this book is organized into eight chapters.

Chapter One is by **Danial Yusof** and is titled: A Neo-Classical Islamic Paradigm of Nations.

This chapter argues that the organising principle of international relations (IR) in Islam is distinguished by two approaches. Firstly, the conflict oriented traditionalist view that divides the world into *Dar-al-Islam* and *Dar-al-Harb* that incorporates *qital* or fight into its theory of foreign relations between states, the rule of law and security of Muslims; and also *da'wah* as a core responsibility of the Islamic state. Secondly, the pacifist or non-traditional view of the realist one world or *Dar-al-Ahd* where Muslim countries enter into covenants and have diplomatic ties with non-Muslim countries, build military power with restricted conditions for its use; and facilitate *da'wah* through peaceful and cooperative relations. In this chapter, social science nomenclature is used to describe the general experience of Muslim countries in this century as Muslims attempt to reconcile their values, governments and citizenship with globalisation and a whole range of international issues such as the environment, terrorism, development and human rights using existing IR structures and processes pertaining to the political economy, security, law, regimes and diplomacy. This chapter suggests that present social science nomenclature is sufficient to explain the motive of Islam in world politics. It also argues that the two approaches in relation to the organising principle of IR in Islam i.e. the division of *Dar-al-Islam* and *Dar-al-Harb*; and *Dar-al-Ahd* have commonalities with the neo-realist and neo-liberal approaches and can also acquire sophistication from constructivism and other alternative approaches. And that with a more nuanced interpretation of IR theory in Islam, the behaviour of states

and non-state Muslim actors will be better accounted for as a descriptive and normative exercise.

Chapter Two is by **Abdul Rashid Moten** and is titled: Political Elites and National Development: The Central Question in Political Science.

This chapter argues that political elites play a dominant role in shaping the destiny of the nation. Political elites make all decisions affecting the livelihood of millions within their respective territories. Masses usually play the role of spectators and occasionally take part in the political system in deciding who rules them from among the elites. This is true of all the political systems, be it termed basic democracy, guided democracy, liberal democracy or illiberal democracy. In all types of systems, a group of people emerge who rule in the name of the one, the few or the many. This law has aptly been termed by Michels as the "Iron Law of Oligarchy." The chapter proceeds to survey theories of elites.

Elite behavior has received good deal of attention by scholars who were concerned about stability and, therefore, development in ethnically divided societies. The chapter analyses Lijphart's consociational model which has received a good deal of attention which has also been implemented in some Muslim countries. Malaysia is a very good example of a consociational model in operation. Malaysia, the chapter argues, has modified the original model to suit the conditions peculiar to it. The chapter concludes that the elite approach has its origin in Muslim scholarship but contemporary scholars need to conceptualize the variables befitting the context they live in.

Chapter Three is by **M. Moniruzzaman** and is titled: Sovereignty - Does it Matter Anymore?

Sovereignty is one of the most contested central concepts in politics, international relations and international law. Indeed, in international relations sovereignty is the only factor that separates states from each other and gives individual identity. In international law sovereignty offers states individual personality independent from others. However, considering the issue from structural perspectives of nation-state system, of the system of international relations and international law, does sovereignty hold any significance anymore? This chapter argues that there are a number of forces during the past few decades that increasingly challenge the established perception of sovereignty. Such forces include humanitarian and preemptive intervention, inter-dependency, regionalism, world trade, multinational corporations, global environmental problems, international human rights regimes, non-state actors, communication technology and above all globalization. These forces are becoming so strong and dominating that the meaning of state sovereignty understood in classical terms is being rendered useless. This chapter reviews the trends that have emerged and are shaping events at the present time in relation to the concept of sovereignty.

Chapter Four is by **Elfatih A. Abdel Salam** and is titled: Theories of Political Pluralism: Western and Islamic Perspectives.

The chapter argues that pluralism is a concept that has appeared in a variety of contexts, both to describe what are perceived as facts of human diversity in the world today and to define various, sometimes divergent positions toward these perceived differences. In essence, pluralism means the recognition of diversity.

This chapter aims to clarify some of the possible meanings attached to uses of the idea of political pluralism. The chapter starts by explicating the term in Western political thought. The next segment of the chapter examines the basis of political pluralism within Islam. Especially significant is the question of Islam's normative relationship with pluralism, given the pervasive influence of cultural norms in the private as well as public lives of Muslims. The chapter addresses the question: Is Islam an obstacle to democratic pluralism and to modernist politics, as detractors have claimed? The chapter also addresses Islam's stand on power-sharing, together with alluding to accounts of practical power-sharing experiences in some Muslim polities.

Chapter Five is by **Ishtiaq Hossain** and is titled: Bangladesh National Security and the Construction of Tipaimukh Dam in India.

This chapter adopts a revised version of Muthiah Alagappa's model for considering national security questions. It is argued in this chapter that the construction of Tipaimukh Dam and its impact on the country is best explained as part of the country's non-traditional security threats. The 'fragile' nature of Bangladesh State not only enhances the non-traditional security threats of the country but also complicates the efforts of the country to deal with those threats. In this sense, Bangladesh, a country of more than 140 million people, can be considered a fragile state. Since the creation of the country in 1971 successive governments in Bangladesh have been unable to carry out some of the core functions of the State, e.g., providing enough pure water, electricity, sewerage, employment, health care, and security to the majority of its population. In spite of the positive impact of micro-finance on the alleviation of poverty in Bangladesh, half of the country's population still lives in poverty. This state of affairs threatens the social stability of the country. Conflict in the country may not be as endemic as those in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia but Bangladesh suffers from prevalent political and social conflicts. Bangladesh also suffers from a 'sovereignty gap' an ever-widening gap between the State's capacity to govern by law and its capacity to provide for the needs of the people in practice. Worse still, Bangladesh also runs a higher risk of conflict because of low and stagnant incomes, high unemployment and ineffective governance. In short, Bangladesh is in the midst of a number of environmental, economic and political crises and the construction of the Tipaimukh Dam in India could bring about such devastating environmental impacts in the country that it, together with those just mentioned, could potentially undermine the long-term national stability thereby threatening its national security

This chapter, first of all, deals with the changing concept of security. Then it considers the notion of security within Bangladesh context. The chapter also explains the intended impact of the construction of Tipaimukh Dam on Bangladesh. It briefly assesses the impact of the construction of the Dam on relations between Bangladesh and India. Finally, in the conclusion, some recommendations are made about resolving the Tipaimukh Dam dispute between India and Bangladesh over the issue.

Chapter Six is by **S.M. Abdul Quddus** and is titled: Designing social research: A methodological note of the study of state-professions interplay in Bangladesh.

This chapter advances a framework for designing a social research particularly targeting the graduate students who seek assistance in preparing their research proposal or collect data for a scholarly journal article, dissertation, or thesis. Terms are explained and recommended strategies are advanced in a holistic manner within the context of a developing society like Bangladesh for those needing introductory assistance in the design process of their research project and to overcome challenges associated with collecting credible data particularly in developing societies.

Chapter Seven is by **Norhaslinda bt Jamaudin** and is titled: Strengthening the Pay-performance Link in Government: a Case Study of Malaysia.

This chapter argues that personnel management in the Malaysian public sector has developed several salary schemes. The evolvement of salary schemes was specifically focused on various dimensions and depicts the maturity of the Malaysian Civil Service (MSC). The previous remuneration systems placed less emphasis on the aspect of performance, while more weight was given to exchange relationships between the employers and employees regardless of the outcome. The emergence of managerial philosophy has initiated new ways of empowering employees. The policies began to emphasize more on the aspect of quality and performance rather than on the aspect of quantity only. Driven by New Public Management-reform model, the current practice of compensation system has placed a paramount emphasis in the aspect of performance; hence it would give positive implication on the job-outcome. Embedded in the concept of performance management, the Malaysia Remuneration System (MRS) was introduced in 2002. As an improved version of the previous system, the MRS has produced successful impacts in strengthening the practices of pay-related performance.

Chapter Eight is by **Garoot Suleiman Eissa** and is titled: The Political Impasse in the Southern Sudan: How has it been exacerbated to the Brink of Secession?

The basic contention of this chapter is that Sudan's problems are primarily in the form of political and administrative inadequacies rather than economic ones. Elites forming the country's successive political regimes have invariably followed a centralized approach to governance.

Throughout its post-independence history the country experienced three relatively long periods of military rule-extending for 42 years- which were interrupted by short lived unstable episodes of liberal democracy of the Westminster type. Yet the same approach based on centralization of power and resources was generally adhered to by all political regimes. However, military governments and single party political regimes bear most of the blame for bad governance whose main features comprised: political repression, foreclosure of constructive arguments, marginalization of remote areas in the distribution of power and resources and centralization of power and resources in the central regions of the country. Such an approach to governance, in addition to other factors helped trigger off communal conflicts and continued to add the fuel that guaranteed their chronic perpetuation.

The other contention is that the approach to the resolution of conflict in the South has thus far followed a negotiated course resulting into settlements that were only reluctantly accepted by participants. If and when the balance of power changes they may want to change the situation to their advantage; hence, there is an inherent instability in this form of settlement that may threaten a rejuvenation of the dormant conflict. The Addis Ababa agreement between North and South in 1972 that ended the first civil war should have served as a good reminder as it met the inevitable fate of abrogation so that the war was resumed in 1982. A structuralist approach that addresses the root causes of communal conflicts is called for but has not been attempted thus far.

A feasible approach would focus on the creation of durable political institutions that insure fair and full participation which may, hopefully, result in permanent stability and harmony and a more just distribution of income and wealth. From that point onwards all efforts can be directed to development and poverty alleviation. The development strategy must be rendered more balanced and human development oriented. Prospects for achieving development under the intensification of communal conflicts are really bleak notwithstanding the substantial resources generated by oil revenue.

This book is an acknowledgement of the contributions of the Department of Political Science to the department and progress of this University. It is hoped that this work and other prospective ones will make the IIUM a shining example of an international centre for research and excellence in the Muslim world.

Finally, we dedicate this book to our students, the real source of our pride and inspiration.

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Bangladesh National Security and the Construction of Tipaimukh Dam in India*

*Ishtiaq Hossain***

Introduction

In 2009, media, political parties, and civil society groups in Bangladesh and Manipur State in India had intensely debated the issue of the construction of Tipaimukh dam in Manipur state in India. Officially known as the Tipaimukh Multipurpose Hydroelectric Project, the dam is to be constructed 500 meters downstream where the Barak and Tuivai Rivers meet in Manipur state. At a place known as Amalshid in India, Barak River divides itself into Surma and Kushiara Rivers and enters into Bangladesh. Amalshid is only a mere 12 kilometres away from Zakiganj upzilla (sub-division) town in Bangladesh. The people of Zakganj, as the people in other places located in the downstream of the rivers Surma and Kushiara are worried about the impact of the construction of such a dam because Bangladesh gets 7-8 percent of its total water requirements from Barak River. It is, therefore, natural that serious concerns about the possible adverse effects of the construction of the dam would be present in any public discourse in Bangladesh about the dam. Civil society and ethnic groups in Manipur have also criticised the construction of the dam. Water resource experts in Bangladesh believe that the country would face a monumental environmental crisis once the dam is commissioned. These experts are of the opinion that the construction of the dam on Barak River would seriously limit water available in Surma and Kushiara Rivers in Bangladesh. They also point out that these two rivers and their distributaries support agriculture, irrigation, navigation, drinking water supply, fisheries, wildlife in Sylhet Division and in peripheral areas of Dhaka Division and industries like fertilizer, electricity and gas. Concerns expressed in Bangladesh about the Tipaimukh dam needs to be understood within the context of the country's bitter experience of serious water shortage and other impacts after the commissioning of the Farakka Barrage in 1975 over the Ganges River in India. In the past, this issue had seriously undermined the relations between India and Bangladesh. However, in 1996 both countries signed a treaty on the Ganges River (Crow, 1981; Hossain, 1981; Hossain, 1998). Despite the agreement, the continuous environmental effects of the controlled river are devastating in the greater part of Western Bangladesh, and reportedly, water supply is not available according to the agreement in most part of the year. The construction of Tipaimukh dam is most likely to have severe negative environmental impacts on North-eastern parts of the country and has the potential to